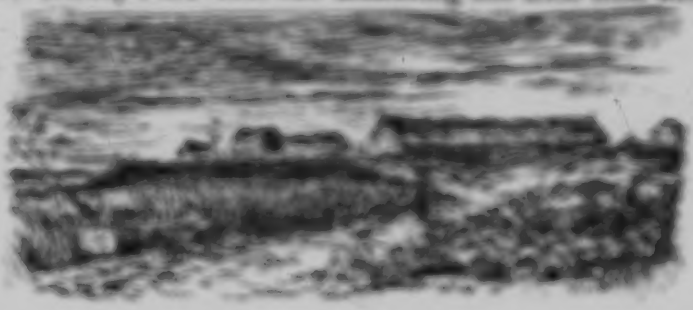
/108 cont./

to the Christians. I'm told that they are white and friendly; one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Parenya."

Martius laconic living on the southernmost reaches of the Schingú and so lies them on the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He re-classifies /them/ them under the Parecí /Pareni/ who are entered across the watershed between Tapajos, Madeira, and Paraguay.

Now it cannot that placing the Pareci and the Beleidé together in this manner. The well-known closest relatives of the Beleidé, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settledwith of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lie in the source region of the Madeira. I myself was famir only with the name of Martius, and on the journey I had often how interesting this little tribe was



Beleidé village.

and how many hour I would later spend pondering over its past.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more at more and gradually became highly amused by my notions -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was ab to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again her. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and heldhe reins of his churchmanship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who stood at, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Claus coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few words of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Canoê, who, they said, call themselves Kayapó. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

148 191 302

John and Jacquina.

648 The Beiodi manan /mani beiodi/ how to embassy. In their hearts they are the worst people as the emigrés.

126 ● /126/ We were busy for a number of days. Claus worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that appears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Cesare, too,
122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

[115]

/110 cont./

The settlement on the Paranauiga was smaller than the one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Castano, probably over his eighties, despite his black hair, /[illegible]/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Mamyuna expedition, which, with the help of the Bakairí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the aldeia /settlement; see the glossary, p. [illegible]/ in a northerly direction. The Bakairí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Castano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own. Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by smallpox /measles/, an epidemic disease. The Brazilians put /[illegible]/ of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indian because, as the head of the town, they had always run into the ones.

As the time of our visit the Bakairí population was made up of ten men, five women, three children -- the present were five men, three women, one boy, whose sex was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Paresí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto lad and a certain Mario who had a Portuguese, Cachaça, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 21 individuals present.

Luiz, who had lived an adventurous life, a "pilikenglis," as he called himself, a "camaradas," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions, he observed acutely and was probably our altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Castano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words. "sua mãma" -- "mamma auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mãma." Luiz maintained that Castano was the son of a Bakairí father and

[Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under Tupi Arawak in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/VII-cont./

Aguia. -- a boy Xingu (parents dead).
Luiz (Bolivian), Maria (Brazilian) with wife Carlota (Paraguayan) and child.

I could not express enough about the fortunate circumstance that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent linguistic it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the unutterable tongue exercises that make up the Suiaçá language, but with Captain Miina, who did nothing but not commonly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Carolina for the legends which I shall recall later.

The largest house, which Capitão Caetano and Felipe occupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacuara /bamboo, see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of burití /see the glossary, p. 174 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacuara covered with burití leaves. There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aroeira posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aroeira wood (also cunhãs de pancas). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhãs de pancas, the two longitudinal beams guaranãi. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: urubú, jaurú, cavalo, tauari. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bed /126/ house. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rare and fantastic baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather. It was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a bread

[Cf. glossary on p. 170 -- Analyst

I. Boulnois 143 A2-1 (1884) 1888 107 leaves 107
Kamma Hills

[107 cont.]

back and forth in this way for hours. They held bow and arrow in their hands and were led by a masked figure which, in the semidarkness, looked like a man dressed as a woman or a carnival. The clothing was feminine, the steps movements masculine. This costume consisted of a conical cap with red, yellow, and green feather trimming all around and a long white cloak of loosely knitted cotton cord that terminated at the bottom with a wreath of black mutum feathers pointing downward. — Casado and Dias he had interpreted the explanation of an Indian to mean that the masked dance perpetuates the memory of former times when a great chief was received with much pomp in the villages that he visited. That chief is represented by the man in the cloak and the feather crown. [The remainder of Ch. 16 and Ch. 17, pp. 287–291, are omitted in the translation.]

[18]

Eighteenth Chapter

Legends of the Bakairí

The name that plays the chief role in the story of pilly Captain Cassino Uhlmann, which unfortunately was told in such miserably broken Portuguese, is that of the "Unpemba." If the missionaries had the intention of creating the greatest possible confusion of concepts in the heads of the Bakairí whom they were to convert, they achieved their purpose to such an extent that one can only with effort squeeze a little clarity and concreteness from the general confusion. Let us imagine Unpemba the sun-god of the Indians. He bears two other names, Kari and Schiachi. His brother is called Kame and also Duna-Schiachi, however, is the sun, Duna the moon. Kari and Kame are merely two other names for the two celestial bodies, which are found among many "Cuck tribes" (cf. chart of the Bo- /unreadable/) interestingly enough in reverse, Kari belonging to the moon, Kamu to the sun.

/77 cont./

The various men we described day were very different in their aptitude for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. For, present-like Tupi, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Lucku, the vain boy, only seemed to amuse himself. Of the younger men, only the remarkable Kalebale was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me in a pot, but he had to give them up. I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave me a bowl of the insipid sugar drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Palako. With his long face sprinkled with grey, his fine old face, he could very well have been /78/ director emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kulisehu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the gentlemen. I was alone with Palako for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came along or together, giving the two of us a little company.

Palako plaited dainty little baskets, repaired worn, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a lot of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakairí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

//in con.//

between the Kaluschu and Kaluina. In the two Selish[?] villages Pelche mentioned for me the Nahuqué villages of the Kaluina and indicated the direction from Wenatchi in which they were to be sought. Starting at the upper course, there are: 1. Anushlin or Anshini southeast, 2. Alulli or Kanakalli east, 3. Temutkumé or Tsutkumé east to east-southeast, 4. Ayalaquilli east-northeast, 5. Cultuni east-northeast, 6. Skatapé northeast. Beyond them came the Tsumaé. Thus, with the Cuaqué, the Tsumaelagh, and the Nahuqué of the Kaluschu, we would have nine Nahuqué villages.

In order to round out the picture, I shall also mention the Suyé, who live on the main river a journey of three short days below Schingé-Kaltanu and of whom we did not see anything on the second expedition, but heard bad rumors, and the Skutlemé, who live on a left tributary that flows in farther downstream and are well known to the Kenayuté and Tsulapin. In 1884 we met a [illegible] number of Skutlemé in captivity among the Suyé. Not until 1887 did we hear about the Tsumé or Azumé who, very soon after the Tsumaé, were said to have had an unpleasant visit by the Suyé, and about whom the Kenayuté gave us the remarkable information that they wore a metallic sounding ear ornament (cf. p. 194). It is probable that we must regard them as Mundurukú /Munduruku/, the famous warrior tribe of the Tapajos, whose trail we missed on the Schingú long ago. The Pawnee called the Mundurukú "Iscuma," which is phonetically the same as Tsumé. A specimen of a club of Kenayé-like /Canoe/ workmanship, which was attributed to the Tsumé, cannot invalidate the evidence presented in the agreement of the names. The Aruaké had an evidence even more obscure to us. the Nahuqué asserted that they were not worth anything, and the Suyé geographer described them as neighbors of theirs. A Kenayé tribe?

Finally, I must also consider the Kayapé. Likewise in the upper source region, they are said to live between the Kaluschu and the Kaluina, above the Nahuqué, along the sources of the Paiuinura, the small Kaluschu tributary whose name is identical with the Selish[?] name for the Pacamalenga. The Suyé geographer

from March 15, 1972, is cleared. It had become necessary to take into account the communities and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as No. 2-11 in 1968, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 14,000 to 8670. On the other hand, to tribes 1, 2, 10-11 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 14 years.

The Botocudo of the Paranapanema and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages, they were occasionally visited by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small massacre and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /1001/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

I made an effort to learn more details about the history of the tribe from the aged Caetano, corporal chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranapanema, as well as from Affonso. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the Botocudos on the site of the Paranapanema lived several days' journey below the present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde coming from the left, the West Botocudo, at least since the middle of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Aguapehy, Cuyabá, and Paranapanema, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caetano there were more than six villages, there was a large village on the Ribeirão do Pedro. The first baptism of the Botocudo took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where the Rio Benjamin empties into the Paranapanema. The Paranapanema village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] is killed, pay to their [illegible]—if no payment is made, Tamiko will seize one [illegible] Inga (Cahua?) [illegible] is the domestic animal that is the creation [illegible] of Tamiko. If you cut down trees in which Tamiko dwells, pay to [illegible] out a place to hold a festival; moreover a payment to the [illegible]—tion, when Tamiko had drunk nuegão, he

11. After he had uttered the passage, I expressed doubt as to whether the dance was the matanam or some other one.

gave [illegible] away (14).

12. Rafael Pino Olaya notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Perené (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of manioc, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that it will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Convención de Perené, 84, Madrid reprint.).

796 Matanam is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/58 cont./

After much wandering, the sky becomes clear. We are close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the heroes, and the candidate hears nothing but human language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri. You may go now; you will return again one day.

Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment upon it.

Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /Pai/ Christo.--"Cristo mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (18).

[13]

18. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. 340 Ave 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/11 cont./

respect to this point of information we must keep in mind the fact that at those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to complement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the time after Karl von den Steinen's publications. The Bakairí leader, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simão Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to confuse the Kayabí /Cayabí/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kuliseu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kuliseu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieri, on the Rio Kuliseu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1951, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Batovy and Kuliseu river. This fact had such an incisive

/12 cont./

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 30 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are informed in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his nephew José Custodio, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Teles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the region east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived; but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/14 cont./

106 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 622 648 578 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater

11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

195 648 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 342 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Dofla Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas 622 342 574 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased. This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it, [302] [533] [535] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room. Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite [352] [123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of 622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old 115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
484 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/25 cont./

114 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account
161 a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I have
361 already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and a part of the Xinguanos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

●115 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions made to
681 the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayaua of the first aldea on the Kulisehu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Coroado because he had become too involved /26/ with the women.

648 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the
198 relations of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after
361 my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

/28 cont./

114 [113] Sept. 1926 bis Aug. 1928
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/." pp. 81-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologe.
Annual Set 60. Heft 1/1.

114 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí
• 115 who had come from Simões Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Simões Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Camingo, or by his native name, Palugude, came from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this aldea 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how this memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaieti aldea among the Kulisehu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this [551] moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo, [191] whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí, [126] and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí [622] since my former journey. Among other news they told me that [159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

/29 cont./

114 died a short time before, Cacique Karíz, who in times past
115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaieri aldea, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already old and had remained with his family and a few people at the location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Riberão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga
619 belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave
648 his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Coroado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kuliseh u, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself
[123] visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife. The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also
115

/29 cont./

114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[731] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Riberão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the
[179] photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[177] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique
622 Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
159 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
114 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/31 cont./

622 159 114 had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Simões Lopes Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

114 115 During my stay at Simões Lopes I twice visited the Xinguano settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieti. There I again met Marcellino Caminage and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chico, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaieti aldea and who had since died. The son of this Chico, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jange Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

361 622 [166] Also on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some distance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows into the river below the Simões Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeas situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at this time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Simões Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally 114 stayed with his people. On leaving Simões Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo,

/31 cont./

114 but unfortunately I encountered only a few inhabitants of this aldea because Roberto was busy at the plantations with most of his people.

114 At the Simões Lopes Post itself there lived several Bakairí
115 who had been for some time in the employ of the Post administration and who were familiar with the tasks involved with traveling with pack oxen. (Cf. /32/ Figures 9-11.) One of these was employed especially as a carpenter. (Cf. Figure 9.) It was interesting for me to meet one of these Bakairí, called Bernardino, who with some other Bakairí had accompanied Colonel Fawcett on his last trip to the tributaries of the Xingu River, and who for this reason could give me some exact data on the last events prior to the disappearance of this unfortunate explorer. According to this information, already before /his disappearance/ the Colonel's behavior had seemed very strange
114 to the Bakairí. They said that before his last trip he had undertaken a journey to the Rio Paranatinga region with some Bakairí, pushing blindly in a certain direction until his pack oxen fell exhausted, so that he had to abandon all his equipment on the plain. Returning to Simões Lopes, he had hired Leonardo and some other Bakairí to lead him with his son and another youth, who was said to have been ill already, to the tributaries of the Xingu River. From there he had then ordered all his guides to return because he wished to continue the journey accompanied only by his son and by the above-mentioned fellow countrymen. Since that time there had been no news of him, and all those who are familiar with conditions in these regions insofar as its pestiferous climate, impenetrable forests, rapids, and total lack of available game in many of its parts are concerned, will share my opinion that these conditions preclude the possibility of Fawcett still being alive. It is probable that but a short time after the departure of the Bakairí he and his two companions dropped exhausted and helpless somewhere on the plain or a hill, so that we need not assume necessarily that their death was brought about through the violence of some

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THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the
Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out
in the course of a reconnaissance survey which
the writer was then making of some of the central
and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a
Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by
the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a
truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made
over the Planalto do Matogrossense in 2 days in
contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá
which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from
2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by
Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de
Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev.
Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the
South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
● [115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among
the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting inform-
ants and in adding to our knowledge of the
Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
36/ Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção
aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí
living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State,
Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão
Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
36/ Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other
Indians and Brazilians forced them to move
about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the
tribe split, one group moving north to settle on
the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the
Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo.
After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this
group moved to the present location of Simão
Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to
Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on
reservation lands and receive assistance from the
Brazilian Government.